THE

MARYLAND SCHEME

OF

EXPATRIATION

EXAMINED.

BY A FRIEND OF LIBERTY.

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MARYLAND SCHEME EXAMINED.

And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters, to afflict them with their burdens. But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew. And they were grieved because of the children of Israel. And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born, ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.—EXODUS 1: 9, 10, 11, 12, 22.

THE subject of American Slavery is one of paramount interest and importance to every American citizen. Its bearing on the character and future destiny of the nation—on the purity and permanency of our free institutions—is such as makes it a matter of common concernment; and attention to it, and its proper remedy, a matter of common obligation and duty. We boast that this is the 'land of the free'—we tell of our 'twelve millions of intelligent freemen,' as if we stood pre-eminent over all the nations for our freedom, when, in point of fact, there is not another civilized nation on the globe, in which there are so many slaves, or one, which tolerates so cruel and debasing a system of slavery. Free America stands as pre-eminent among the nations for the oppression endured by one class of her population, as for the freedom enjoyed by the other. Free America is the only civilized land, in which there are two millions of slaves. It is in free America only, that two millions of human beings, made in the image of God, are robbed of their inalienable and sacred rights *by law*, and thus subjected to the iron yoke of a *legalized oppression.** The government of free America is the only government in the civilized world that shuts out two millions of its subjects from the protection of its laws. Boast therefore of our freedom as we may, and yet every sixth man, and every sixth woman, and every sixth child is a slave, and such a slave as is no where else to be found. A nation of slaves is in our midst, not one of whom has any legal protection for his property, or his person, or his character, or his purity, or his social rights, or his life, or the instruction and cultivation of his mind; and none either for the property, or person, or character, or purity, or rights, or life, or mental cultivation of his wife and children, but all—father, mother, husband, wife, son, daughter, brother, sister—all are shut out from the protection of law, and *by* law, 'turned loose' on the community, a prey to the avarice, lust and cruelty of caprice and arbitrary, irresponsible power. Two millions of human beings are thus, at the discretion of their oppressors, daily plundered of the products of their industry; husbands of their wives; wives of their husbands; parents of their children; children of their parents; and all of them, of numberless blessings, that would accrue to them from the possession of their rights and the protection of law. Nor is it here that the wrong and the outrage cease. Physical sufferings are the least of the matter. The iron enters the soul. The legalized oppression of free America is crushing the soul of two millions. In the language of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, such is now 'their moral and religious condition,' '*that they may justly be considered the Heathen of this Christian country, and will bear comparison with Heathen* IN ANY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.'* Not content with a single victim, therefore, free America is stained with the guilt of the crime against the life of the soul of two millions.

It were idle to suppose that this state of things can long continue. The eye of the world is on our guilt, and with an unwonted scrutiny, is searching out and exposing the shame of our nakedness in this matter; and it will not be long, unless we bestir ourselves, before the public sentiment of the world, in the form of a holy indignation at our wickedness, or a burning contempt at our hypocrisy, will come down upon us. American slavery cannot stand the gaze of the world. And aside from this, the movement already begun in the public mind at home is so deep and wide-spread, that change, speedy, entire, radical, is inevitable. The public mind has started, as by magic,

* Wo unto them that decree unrighteous *decrees*, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the *right* from the poor of my people. Is. 10: 1, 2. Shall the throne (government) of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which *frameth mischief by a law?* Ps. 9: 20.

* Charleston Observer, March 22, 1834.

from its sleep of years. It has roused itself to the subject in question in such a manner, and to such an extent, that the puny infant might as soon think to breast the mountain wave of ocean, as slavery to stand before that tide of sentiment that is now gathering and breaking over the length and breadth of the land. Sympathy, conscience, feeling, humanity, religion are every where rousing themselves, and with the self-consecration and the determination of the patriots of our revolution, are hasting to the deliverance of the captive. Nor will they rest until the work be done, and jubilee be heard throughout the land.

But, *how*? This is the question. And the community are divided upon it. One man answers, by means of 'African Colonization,' and another, by the scheme of 'Immediate Emancipation.' Both have repeatedly been the subject of discussion and examination, and it might seem therefore unnecessary to renew the discussion at the present time. There are, however, several reasons which seem to demand it. In the first place, the attention of the community has already been called to it anew in the manner already stated. In the next place, colonization is wondrously 'given to change;' sometimes urging itself on us in one form and with one set of reasons, and then again in a new form and with newer and better reasons; and, as we are given to understand, such is the fact in the present instance, the Maryland scheme being an improved form of colonization, and therefore having new and peculiar claims to the confidence and co-operation of the public. Of course, it ought to be subjected to a careful examination. The public, if they embrace it and second its designs by their influence and charities, shou'd know distinctly and definitely what it is they thus embrace and second, and why they do it. Or if they stand aloof from it, they should know what they stand aloof from, and why they do so. If it be a benevolent scheme, and withal the wisest and most effectual for the removal of slavery; or if, on the other hand, it be only a piece of splendid deception—oppression in disguise, every member of the community should know it, and act accordingly, otherwise he will be in danger on the one hand of neglecting his duty to his country and to God, and on the other, of aiding and abetting oppression. It is on these grounds that the writer of these pages invites the attention of the citizens of Boston, at this time, to the following examination of the Maryland Scheme, and of its claims to the patronage of the humane and christian public.

I. *By whom and in what character is the scheme presented to the public confidence and co-operation?*

Answer 1. At the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, January 20, 1833, the following resolution was offered by Mr. Chambers of Maryland, and adopted by the Society:—

Resolved, That the Society view, *with the highest gratification*, the continued efforts of the State of Maryland to accomplish her *patriotic* and *benevolent* system in regard to her colored population, and that the last appropriation by that State of two hundred thousand dollars, in aid of African colonization, is hailed by the friends of the system, as *a bright example* to other States.

In support of this resolution, after stating that in making the said appropriation, 'Maryland, in her character as a state, had expressed, so emphatically, her just regard for the objects of this (the American) Society, as to have elicited from the Board of Managers an expression of high obligation, for her magnanimous proceedings in support of them,' Mr. Chambers added, 'it is indispensable, however, that the object of this Society should continue to be what it has been professed to be, *the colonization of the free people of color* ONLY.' So that the Maryland scheme was originally endorsed and recommended by the American Society as a '*patriotic and benevolent* system,' and her appropriation, as '*a bright example to other states.*' Let this be remembered and proposed TO OTHER STATES.

Answer 2. The select meeting of Monday evening, was called by the following note, sent to particular individuals:—

Sir, We particularly request your attendance at a meeting to be held this evening, the 28th inst. in the Old South Chapel, in Spring Lane, at 8 o'clock, P. M. for the object of hearing a developement of what is now doing by the Maryland State Colonization Society, to deliver that State from the evils of slavery; in aid of which benevolent purpose, the State has appropriated the sum of $20,000 annually for ten years.

These statements will be made by the Rev. Messrs. J. and R. Breckinridge, from Philadelphia and Baltimore, and the Rev. Mr. McKenney, agent of the Society. We believe they will be found peculiarly important in the present crisis of this interesting subject, and will afford prospect of relief from the difficulties which it now presents.

We give this invitation at the request of the gentlemen above named. The meeting will be select, and as we cordially approve of the object, we are very desirous of having it fully attended.

Boston, July 28, 1834.

G. W. BLAGDEN,
HUBBARD WINSLOW.
N. ADAMS.

It will be seen from the above, first, that the scheme is presented to the public by three respectable clergymen from abroad; second, that it is endorsed and recommended by three of our most devoted and respectable clergymen in the city, as a scheme, 'to deliver that state from the evils of slavery,' and one of 'benevolent purpose;' that the statements to be made 'will be found *peculiarly important in the present crisis of this interesting subject, and will afford a favorable prospect of relief*,' &c.; and that they 'CORDIALLY APPROVE OF THE OBJECT,' and 'ARE VERY DESIROUS OF HAVING IT, (the meeting) FULLY ATTENDED.' The scheme comes well recommended, therefore, and, if for no other reason, deserves a careful and thorough examination.

II. *What then is the scheme?*

Answer. A scheme of most atrocious oppression, as the following facts and documents conclusively prove.

Sometime in March, 1831, Mr. Brawner submitted the following Resolutions to the legislature of Maryland, which were severally read and adopted.

Resolved, That the increased proportion of the free people of color in this state, to the white population; *the evils growing out of their connection and unrestrained association with the slaves, their habits and manner of obtaining a subsistence, and their withdrawing a* LARGE PORTION *of employment from the laboring class of the white population*, are subjects of momentous and grave consideration to the good people of this state.

Resolved, That as philanthropists and lovers of freedom, we deplore the existence of slavery amongst us, and would use our utmost exertions to ameliorate its condition; *yet we consider the unrestricted power of manumission as fraught with ultimate evils of a more dangerous tendency than the circumstance of slavery alone*, and that any act, having for its object the mitigation of these joint evils, not inconsistent with other paramount considerations, would be worthy the attention and deliberation of the representatives of a free, liberal-minded and enlightened people.

Resolved, That we consider the colonization of free people of color in Africa as the commencement of a system, by which, if judicious encouragement be afforded, *these evils may be measurably diminished*, so that in process of time, the relative proportion of the black to the white population will hardly be matter for serious or unpleasant consideration.

Ordered, therefore, That a committee of five members be appointed by the Chair, with instructions to report a bill, based as nearly as may be, upon the principles contained in the foregoing resolutions, and report the same to the consideration of this house.

In pursuance whereof, the speaker appointed Messrs. Brawner, Hawkins, Merrick, Bell and M'Mahon, the Committee.

This was the commencement of the Maryland scheme. Let us examine it. What causes originated it, and what was it designed to accomplish? Let the resolutions answer. 'The *increased proportion* of the free people of color to the white population; *the evils* growing out of their connection and unrestrained association with the slaves; their habits and manner of obtaining a subsistence; their withdrawing *a large portion* of employment from the laboring class of the white population, and the unrestricted power of manumission, fraught as it was with ultimate evils of a more dangerous tendency than the circumstance of slavery alone'—these were the 'subjects of momentous and grave consideration'—these the causes that should excite to the adoption of some measures by which 'these evils might be measurably diminished.' And so, to keep down the increase of the free; to prevent the evils (a significant word,) of their intercourse with the slaves; to keep them from withdrawing a large portion of employment from the whites; to limit the power of manumission, and thus prevent those evils of more dangerous tendency than slavery *alone*, were objects 'worthy the attention and deliberation of the representatives of a free, liberal-minded, and enlightened people'!

At the next session of the legislature, Mr. Brawner presented the '*Report of the Committee on* GRIEVANCES *and Courts of Justice, of the House of Delegates, relative to the Colored population of Maryland.*' The following are extracts.

The committee to whom were referred the several memorials from numerous citizens of this state, upon the subject of the colored population, Report,—

That the views presented by the memorialists are various, and the recommendations contained in some of the memorials are entirely repugnant to those contained in others. The subjects, however, upon which legislative action is required, may be embraced under a few general heads:

First, That a law be passed prohibiting the future emancipation of the slaves, unless provision be made for their removal from the state.

Secondly, That a sum of money adequate for the attainment of the object, be raised and appropriated for the removal of those already free.

Thirdly, That a system of police be established, regulating the future conduct and morals of this class of our population.

And, Fourthly, There are several memorials from different parts of our state signed by a numerous and highly respectable porportion of our citizens, recommending the entire abolition of slavery in the state.

This shows that there is abolition feeling abroad in Maryland, and that if that feeling were not drained off in the direction of Africa, it would soon seek another vent, viz. emancipation on the soil, and then Maryland would find her colored population, who withdraw a large portion of employment from the white laborers, no longer a 'grievance,' but a blessing—an industrious and quiet and valuable part of the community—far more so than the white population that would take their place; and she, as a state, would stand forth, a 'bright example to other states' of the glory and safety of a righteous emancipation.

The Committee proceed: 'It is not now (if indeed it ever was) a question, whether the colored population of this state is injurious to her prosperity.' The question therefore is, 'Is there a remedy for this admitted and awful evil? a remedy within the power of the state to apply, and consistent with its honor and a due regard to the welfare of that unfortunate class of our population, upon which it is to act?'—The committee think there is, and then go on to show that it is that of removal to 'the land of their fathers.'

'The colored population of Maryland amounts to 155,932, of whom 52,938 are free. The removal of *all* these, or at least, so many as to leave only an *inconsiderable and decreasing population of them* within our limits, is the object to be accomplished. This separation is essential.'

In regard to the free, the committee state that their increase between 1820 and 1830, was annually, thirteen hundred and forty. Supposing one half of this to have been by emancipation, and the other half to have been the natural increase, and supposing '*no future addition to be made to their number by emancipation*, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE MEASURES NOW TO BE ADOPTED, TO PREVENT THEIR REMAINING IN THE STATE AFTER EMANCIPATION, and the annual increase to be removed would be 670.' These could be removed at an expense of $20,000. Thus, 'the *whole* of this population would be removed in the course of one generation alone.'

But 'whilst this operation is going on in reference to the free, can nothing be done towards the gradual reduction of the slaves?' An estimate is accordingly made in respect to their removal, but then 'they are property and must be so regarded, and without their owners' consent, none of them can be touched.' They do not, however, propose to buy them of their masters, or to take any legislation on the subject. 'They would rather leave it to their fellow-citizens to make their free sacrifices to the public good, and the cause of humanity and justice, than compel them by legal enactments, or the offers of reward.'

And as to abolition,—'Believing that the legislature may securely rely on the patriotism and good sense and feeling of the people, they see no cause, for the present, to recommend any scheme for the *future*, or *progressive* abolition of slavery; deeming it all-sufficient to provide means for the removal of those now free, and such as, with consent of their owners, shall hereafter become so, and leave it to future events to determine whether any and what legislative enactments may be found necessary to eradicate from our state this stain upon her otherwise bright escutcheon.'

These extracts show a settled determination and design, first, and foremost, to get rid of the free people of color, and that in order to effect this, measures were to be adopted to carry off those now free, with their own consent, and at the same time to prevent any addition to their number by emancipation. This last was to be secured by restricting the power of manumission, so that every slave should be reduced to the alternative of perpetual bondage, or emancipation on condition of removal. How well this general design was executed—what measures have been, and are to be adopted to prevent the increase of the free colored population, to remedy the evils arising from their intercourse with the slaves, to secure their consent to emigrate, and then to carry them off, will be seen by the two following acts, passed at the same session of the legislature. The one will show how they prevent increase and obtain consent, and the other, by what means and in what way they are to effect removal.

I. *How to check increase and obtain consent.*

AN ACT RELATING TO FREE NEGROES AND SLAVES.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That after the passage of this act, *no free negro or mulatto shall emigrate to, or settle in this State;* and no free negro or mulatto belonging to any other State, district or territory, shall come into this State, and therein remain for the space of ten successive days, whether such free negro or mulatto *intends settling in this State or not, under the penalty of fifty dollars for each and every week* such persons coming into, shall thereafter remain in this State; the one half to the informer and the other half to the sheriff for the use of the county, * *

and any free negro or mulatto refusing or neglecting to pay said fine or fines, shall be committed to the jail of the county: and shall be *sold by the sheriff at public sale, for such time as may be necessary to cover the aforesaid penalty*, first giving ten days previous notice of such sale: and the said sheriff, after deducting prison charges and a commission of ten per centum, shall pay over one half of the nett proceeds to the informer, and the balance he shall pay over to the Levy Court or Commissioners as the case may be, for the use of the county. *(a)*

Sec. 2. And be it enacted, That no person in this State, shall hereafter *hire, employ, or harbor* any free negro or mulatto who shall emigrate or settle in this State, after the first day of June next, or any free negro or mulatto who shall come into this State, from any other State, district or territory, and continue in this State for the space of ten successive days as above, under the *penalty of twenty dollars* for every day after the expiration of four days, any such free negro or mulatto * * * * shall be so employed, hired or harbored, *(b)* and all fines accruing under this act, * * one half thereof to be applied to the informer, and the other half to the use of the county; and if any negro or mulatto shall

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(a) So the matter is absolutely settled that there shall be no future increase of free blacks by *immigration*. No free negro is to emigrate to or settle in the State on any terms. What the penalty is, in case any colored person should attempt it, does not clearly appear, unless it be to pay fifty dollars for every week he stays over the prescribed ten days, and in failure thereof, to be 'sold for such time as may be necessary to cover said penalty;' and then, when his time is out, if he shall persist in remaining another week, to have the same process repeated; and so indefinitely, until at last he may chance to fall into the hands of some unprincipled wretch, who, having bought him for a limited time, shall take care, as is often done, to sell him before the time expires, to the southern market as a slave for life. It is more probable, however, that section 12 of this act is designed to meet this case, and that an attempt to emigrate and settle in the State, especially if persisted in, would come under the head of '*any crime* committed after the passage of this act,' not punishable, under the laws of the State, by hanging, but by banishment from the State, or transportation to a foreign country, '*at the discretion of the court.*'

Now what can be more oppressive and unjust than this! And yet this is the least part of the injustice and oppression of this single section. A thousand cases may occur, against which no provision is made, and in which the operation of this section would be still more cruel. Indeed the section is express, that the colored freeman out of the State, shall not even enter it on business, or on a visit to his friends, and remain over ten days, under the aforesaid pains and penalties! Be his business what it may, be the circumstances of his friends what they may, and, 'sickness or other casualty' on his part excepted, if he stay a single week over the appointed time, he pays his fifty dollars, or is seized by the sheriff as a felon, and locked up in 'the jail of the county,' there to remain, until the sheriff shall have given ten days notice of his sale, (and the sheriff if he pleases may be three or six months or more in giving the notice, no provision being made by which it becomes his duty to do it forthwith,) and then the poor man is to be sold at public auction for a time sufficient to cover the said penalty, and if no one is found who will pay said fifty dollars for a less time than one, or two, or three, or even more years of service, still off he goes to the highest bidder as a

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slave, to be held and treated as a slave, and during all the period of his servitude to remain separate from his family, if he have one, whatever their circumstances and wants, even though naked and starving for want of the clothing and the means of sustenance, for the supply of which they are dependent on the daily labor of the husband and the father, and tormented at the same time, with the apprehension, lest perchance by some evasion of the law, that husband or father should be sold, before his term of service expires, to the southern market, and thus be separated from them forever.

So also the colored man, of one town in the State, cannot marry a wife, even from the next town, should it happen to be over the line, and bring her into the State, but the fifty dollars must be forthcoming, or the wife be sold as before, and he be liable, by Section 2, to a fine of twenty dollars for every day he 'harbors' her over four. Or should he chance to have an aged father, or a feeble brother, or sister dependent on him for support, but residing only in the next town, so it be out of the State, they cannot come to reside in his family under the aforesaid pains and penalties, nor can he 'hire, employ or harbor' them under 'the penalty of twenty dollars for every day' he does it over four.

And so of a multitude of cases that might be supposed, and for which no provision is made. And does any man need argument to show that such enactments are oppression in its most glaring form? Why, they would disgrace the autocrat of Russia.

(b) 'Under penalty of twenty dollars'! No matter what the circumstances of the case, or however much the white man may be disposed to 'hire, employ, or harbor' the colored man, he does it under penalty of twenty dollars, for every day's offence over four! And so the door to immigration is not only shut, but bolted, and barred on both sides. The hands of white and colored are alike fettered in regard to the matter. The sufferings of the one cannot be relieved, or his wants supplied, by the employment which the compassion and kindness of the other might be disposed to furnish him; but, so far as relief in this way is concerned, that compassion and kindness are compelled, *by law*, to pass by the poor and the needy.

remove from this State and remain without the limits thereof for *a space longer than thirty consecutive days, unless before leaving the State he deposites with the clerk of the county in which he resides,* A WRITTEN STATEMENT *of his object in so doing, and his intention of returning again, or unless he shall have been detained by sickness or coercion, of* WHICH HE SHALL BRING A CERTIFICATE, he shall be regarded as a resident of another State, and be subject, if he return, to the penalties imposed by the foregoing provisions upon free negroes and mulattoes of another State, migrating to this State: Provided that nothing contained in this act shall prevent any free negro or mulatto from visiting *Liberia, and returning to the Stat whenever he may choose to do so.* (c)

Sec. 3, Provides that nothing in the preceding sections shall apply to free negroes engaged in navigation, 'under a *white* commander'—(*d*)or to any wagoner or hired servant travelling with his master, or to such as come into the State lawfully, and are detained by sickness or other casualty.

Sec. 4. And be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful from and after the first of June next, to import or bring into this state by land or water, any negro, mulatto or other slave for sale, or to reside within this state: * * * and any person or persons so offending, shall forfeit for every such offence, any negro, mulatto or other slave brought into this state contrary to this act, and such negro, mulatto or other slave, *shall be entitled to freedom upon condition that he consent to be sent to Liberia, or to leave the State forthwith, otherwise such negro or mulatto or other slave, shall be seized and taken and confined in jail by the sheriff of the county where the offence is committed,* which sheriff shall receive ten dollars for every negro, mulatto or other slave so brought into this State and forfeited as aforesaid, and seized and taken by him. * * * Moreover, said sheriff shall receive five dollars for such negro, mulatto or other slave actually confined by him in jail, and the usual prison fee as now allowed by law; and any person or persons so offending under this act, shall be punished by indictment in the county court of the county where the offence shall be committed, and upon conviction thereof, the said court shall, by its order, direct said sheriff *to sell any negro,* mulatto, or other slaves *so seized and taken by him under this act, to the Colonization Society for said five dollars, and the prison fees* * * * to be taken to Liberia: and if said Colonization Society shall not receive such negroes, mulattoes or other slaves for said five dollars each, and the prison fees of each, upon refusing, said sheriff shall after three weeks' public notice given by public advertisements *sell any such negro, mulatto or other slave to some person*

(c) What a provision this! Christian, think of it. Put yourself in the poor colored man's place, and pray over it. If he leaves the State 'for a space longer than thirty consecutive days'—what? Why, this, HE BECOMES AN EXILE FROM IT, and is to be regarded and treated as a resident of another State, liable to all the foregoing fines, imprisonments, &c., UNLESS, on leaving, he deposites, &c. Unless! What a mockery is this! Why, suppose the poor colored man cannot write, where shall he get his 'written statement'? Shall he go to the clerk or some justice, and pay him a fee to write it for him? Or, suppose he writes it himself, shall he be compelled, in this public way, to advertise the public where he is going, and what he is going for? Or, suppose he lives at the extreme part of the county, some ten, twenty, or more miles from the clerk, must he be at the expense of such a journey, together with the loss of one or two days of time, just to lodge said statement with the clerk? And, then suppose, in leaving the State, his object is to go to some place, say the first town over the line, in the hope of finding better employment and thus securing a better livelihood; and therefore cannot tell until he has tried it, whether he shall wish to return or not; is it right, is it kind, or is it high-handed wickedness to compel the poor man to make that experiment at the hazard of becoming an everlasting exile from his native State? And if he meets with disappointment and failure to leave him this, as his only consolation, 'I am now an exile from my former home, and as to my dear wife and little ones, I have no alternative but to be separated from them and leave them where they are, with none to provide for them or bring them where I am, to become exiles with me from their native State and their former friends, and eat with me the bitter fruits of disappointment and want?' Or, suppose he leaves with the avowed intention of returning, but has been detained by 'coercion,' (and it would seem that this is not impossible or improbable, else it had not been provided for in the act,) where and from whom shall he obtain the requisite certificate? Will those who have coerced him give it? Will other white men do it, when perhaps to do it, is to impeach character, and by consequence, subject themselves to the taunts, and reproaches, and persecution of the individuals concerned? And besides, who cares enough for the 'niggers' to trouble himself about the matter?

(*d*) 'Under a *white* commander!' How kind! How magnanimous to make such a provision for the protection of the poor colored man! But alas! what if the commander should chance to be colored? That indeed would alter the case, and commander and all, would be alike obnoxious to the penalties of the law. Nay more, by Section 9, their colored faces would be prima facie evidence that they were thieves—perhaps pirates—and no man could trade with them until by a written certificate they had proved themselves honest men. Verily, the tender mercies of such legislation are cruelty extreme.

or persons, with a condition that any such negro, mulatto or other slave shall be removed and taken forthwith beyond the limits of this state to settle and reside, and said sheriff shall report any sale or sales made by him to the county court of the county in which he resides, and after deducting five dollars, and prison fees for each and every negro, mulatto or other slave sold as aforesaid, * * * said sheriff shall pay over the balance of said sales to the treasurer of the shore where he may reside. (*e*)

Sec. 5, Points out the duty of justices of the peace, touching the matter.

Sect. 6. And be it enacted, That no free negro or mulatto shall be suffered to keep or carry a firelock of any kind, any military weapon, or any powder or lead, *without first obtaining a license* from the court of the county or corporation in which he resides; which license shall be annually renewed, and be at any time withdrawn by an order of said court, or any judge thereof; and any free negro or mulatto who shall disregard this provision, shall on conviction thereof before a justice of the peace, for the first offence pay the cost of prosecution, and forfeit all such arms to the use of the informer; and for the second or any subsequent offence shall, *in addition to such costs and forfeiture, be punished with stripes, at the discretion of the justice, not exceeding thirty-nine, or be subject to the penalties of felony.* (*f*)

Sec. 7. And be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any free negro or negroes, slave or slaves, *to assemble or attend any meetings for religious purposes, unless conducted by a white licensed or ordained preacher,* or some respectable white person or persons of the neighborhood, as may be duly authorised by such licensed or ordained preacher, during the continuance of such meeting; *and if any such meeting shall be held without being conducted as aforesaid, they shall be considered as unlawful and tumultuous meetings,* and it shall be the duty of the nearest constable, or any other civil officer knowing of such meetings, either from his own knowledge or the information of others, to repair to such meeting and disperse the said negroes or slaves; and if any such constable shall fail to comply with the provisions of this act, he shall be subject to a fine of not less than five nor more than twenty dollars, at the discretion of a justice of the peace of the county in which he resides, whose duty it shall be to impose the fine, on information being given for such neglect; and return the proceed-

(*e*) This is to prevent the increase of slaves. The state is anxious to get rid of slavery. Let us see how she would do it. If the master breaks the law, by bringing the slave into the state, he forfeits him. So far very well. So far the master suffers for his own sin, but farther than this his sin is all visited on the head of the poor slave. For, though forfeited, he is still a slave to the state, and is free *only* on condition, he 'consent to be sent to Liberia, or to leave the State forthwith.' Otherwise he is seized, as if he were the criminal, and shut up in prison, there to remain until, at some future time, (there is no provision to say when) the sheriff shall sell him to the Colonization Society for five dollars and the prison fees, to be taken to Liberia then, with or without his consent; and if that Society will not buy him, then, after another imprisonment of at least three weeks, (and for any provision to the contrary, it may be as much longer as the sheriff chooses,) during which, notice of his sale is to be given by public advertisement, he is to be sold to any person who will buy him, on condition of taking him forthwith beyond the limits of the state—that is, in plain terms, he is to be sold as a slave for life to any planter, negro-trader, or Woolfolk, who will buy him on the specified condition. These are the tender mercies of Maryland Colonization-legislation—it goes for the total abolition of slavery!

But why all this? What has the poor slave done that he should suffer thus? Why is it, that he is compelled to take his freedom at the expense of exile from his country and separation from his family, should he chance to have one? Or, if he refuse this alternative, why is he seized, and imprisoned, and sold without his consent, either to expatriation, or to hopeless bondage? For no crime, no imprudence, no misconduct of his, but solely for the fault of the master in bringing him, perhaps against his will, into that state from another. Is this right? Is it kind? Is this the legislation of benevolence?—this a part of the 'patriotic and benevolent' scheme of Maryland? these the laws of equity and humanity? Or is this the benevolence of Nicholas—tyranny in disguise; and these the laws of a Draco—written in blood? I speak as to wise men—judge ye.

(*f*) And yet, on Wednesday evening, July 30, the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge of Baltimore, assured the citizens of Boston, that the free people of color in Maryland were treated with great kindness, as their rapid increase proved; that they were as really and fully protected in their right of property and locomotion in the state, as himself or any other citizen. Their property protected! Let the laws decide. And besides, compare with this, the testimony of this same Mr. B. in his speech at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society at Washington, the last winter:—'I agree, said he, with the slaveholder, that the free people of color must go away or perish. And if any one doubts the truth of this, let him come to Baltimore, and I will show it to him. There he will find that our lawyers will not admit a colored man to the bar, nor our druggists to their profession. Our hack stands show few men of color. Even our dray-men are nearly all white. *We exclude the colored men from every employment in which men can rise. And they are there perishing for want of daily food.*' What protection!

ings and judgment on the same to the clerk of the county, who shall enter it upon the proper docket to be collected and applied as other fines and forfeitures now are: Provided, that this act shall not interfere with any right of any owner or employer of any slave or slaves, to allow his own servants or those employed by him or her, to have prayers or other religious service upon his own land; and provided also, that nothing contained in this act shall be construed to prevent the assemblage within the limits of Baltimore city and Annapolis city, of such slaves, or free negroes and mulattoes for the purpose of religious worship, if said meetings are held in compliance with the *written permission of a* WHITE LICENSED ORDAINED *preacher, and dismissed before* 10 *o'clock at night.* (*g*)

Sec. 8. And be it enacted, That all free negroes or mulattoes who shall be found associating, or in any company with slaves, at any unlawful or tumultuous meeting, either by day or by night, or who shall in connection with any slave or slaves, as principal or accessary, be guilty of, and convicted of, any offence for which slaves are now punishable, before a justice of the peace, such free negro or mulatto shall be subject to the same punishment, and be liable in every respect to the same treatment and penalty as slaves thus offending.

Sec. 9. And be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any person to purchase of any free negro or mulatto, or from any slave or slaves, any bacon, pork, beef, mutton, corn, wheat, tobacco, rye, or oats, unless such free negro or mulatto shall at the time of such sale, produce a certificate *from a justice of the peace, or three respectable persons* residing in the *neighborhood* of said negro, of the county in which such negro resides, that he or they have reason to believe and do believe, that such free negro or mulatto came honestly and bona fide into possession of any such articles so offered for sale, or unless such slave shall produce a written authority from his or her owner, employer or overseer, to sell any such article; and any person thus offending against the provisions of this act shall be subject to a penalty of five dollars for every such offence, or a penalty equal in amount to the value of the article purchased, should the value thereof exceed the sum of five dollars, * * * * one half to the use of the informer, and the balance to be paid to the levy court, or commissioners, as the case may be, for the use of the county. (*h*) * * *

Sec. 10. And be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any retailer, ordinary keeper, or other person, to sell any ardent spirits, gunpowder, shot, or lead, to any free negro, mulatto, or slave, without, in the case of a free negro, such free negro shall produce a certificate in the nature of *a license or permit from a justice of the peace in the county in which such free negroes may reside, directed to the person so selling the same*; or in case of a slave, unless such slave shall produce a written authority from his owner, employer or overseer, and any person so offending shall be subject to the like penalty, to be recovered and applied in every respect as is provided in the foregoing section of this bill.

Sec. 11, Relates to the power of certain courts in the matter of licenses.

Sec. 12. And be it enacted, That if any free negro or mulatto shall be convicted of ANY crime committed after the passage of this act, which may not, under the laws of this State, be punished by hanging by the neck, such free negro or mulatto may, *in the discretion of the court*, be sentenced to the penalties and punishments now provided by law, *or be banished from this State, or be transported into some foreign country.* (*i*)

Such is the act which was passed by the same legislature that made an appropriation of $200,000 for the removal of free persons of color; and no man, I am persuaded, can read it without feeling that, whatever its design, its necessary tendency is to make their situation here so uncomfortable, as virtually to coerce them into a consent to re-

(*g*) This is a specimen of their right of locomotion.

(*h*) Another specimen of protection and of the mildness of the laws in that state, in which, as Mr. B. assures us, the laws are milder than in any other slave state—Kentucky excepted. The laws are so mild, that they make a colored skin prima facie evidence that the man is a thief, and throw upon him the burthen of proof that he is an honest man. This is mildness with a vengeance.

(*i*) This is the climax. Here are mildness and protection without a parallel. 'For any crime committed after the passage of this act'—such, for example, as emigrating into the State, or staying there over ten days, (sec. 1.) or hiring, or employing or harboring any one from another state more than four days; or returning after an absence of thirty days, (sec. 2.); or carrying a firelock or any kind of military weapon without a license from the county court, 'annually renewed,' (sec. 6.); or holding a religious meeting without a white man to conduct it, (sect. 7); or selling any thing without a written certificate that it was not stolen, (sec. 9)—in a word, for 'ANY *crime*,' those specified in the act or any others, 'committed *after* the passage of *this* act,' and not punishable by hanging, free negroes are so well protected, that at '*the discretion of the court*,' and with no right of appeal to another court, they may be subjected to the 'penalties and punishments *now* provided,' or 'be banished from the state, or be transported to a foreign country.' All this, probably '*with their own consent*.'

move from the State. But perhaps this is not so. Suppose, therefore, we suspend judgment until we have examined the other act, passed by the same legislature, making the aforesaid appropriation.

II. *How they get rid of them.*

'A LAW OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND.'

'*An Act Relating to the People of Color of this State.*'

Sect. 1, Provides for the appointment of a 'Board of Managers, consisting of three persons,' to superintend the whole business of the removal of 'the people of color now free, and such as shall hereafter become so.'

Sec. 2, Makes it the duty of the Treasurer of the Western Shore to pay to the Board of Managers such sums as they shall from time to time require, not exceeding in all, $20,000 for that present year, to be applied by them, at discretion, in the work of removal, and in taking measures 'to obtain and place before the people of color of the state, full and correct information of the condition and circumstances of the colony of Liberia, or such other place or places to which they may recommend their removal'!

Sec. 3. And be it enacted, That it shall hereafter be the duty of every clerk of a county in this Sate, whenever a deed of manumission shall be left in his office for record, and of every Register of Wills, in every county of this State, whenever a will, manumitting a slave or slaves, shall be admitted to probate, to send within five days thereafter, (under a *penalty of ten dollars* for each and every omission so to do, to be recovered before any justice of the peace, one half whereof shall go to the informer and the other half to the State;) an extract from such deed or will, stating the names, number and ages of the slave or slaves so manumitted, (a list whereof, in the case of a will so proved, shall be filed therewith, by the executor or administrator) to the board of managers for Maryland, for removing the people of color of said State; and it shall be the duty of the said board on receiving the same to notify the American Colonization Society, or the Maryland State Colonization Society thereof, and to propose to such society that they shall engage, at the expense of such society, to remove the said slave or slaves so manumitted to Liberia; and if the said society shall so engage, then it shall be the duty of the said board of managers to have said slave or slaves delivered to the agent of such society, at such place as the said society shall appoint, for receiving such slave or slaves, for the purpose of such removal, at such time as the said society shall appoint; and in case the said society shall refuse so to receive and remove the person or persons so manumitted and offered, or in case the said person or persons shall refuse so to be removed, then it shall be the duty of the said board of managers to remove the said person or persons to such other place or places beyond the limits of this state, as the said board shall approve of, and the said person or persons shall be willing to go to, and to provide for their reception and support at such place or places as the said board may think necessary, until they shall be able to provide for themselves, *out of any money that may be earned by their hire*, or may be otherwise provided for that purpose; and in case the said person or persons shall refuse to be removed to *any* place beyond the limits of this state, and shall persist in remaining therein, then it shall be the duty of said board to inform the sheriff of the county wherein such person or persons may be, of such refusal, and it shall *thereupon be the duty of the said sheriff* FORTHWITH TO ARREST, *or cause to be arrested, the said person or persons so refusing to emigrate from this State*, and TRANSPORT THE SAID PERSON OR PERSONS BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THIS STATE; and all slaves shall be capable of receiving manumission, for the purpose of removal as aforesaid, with their consent, of whatever age, any law to the contrary notwithstanding. (*a*)

Sec. 4. And be it enacted, That in case any slave or slaves so manumitted, *cannot be removed without separating families*, and the said slave or slaves, unwilling on that ac-

(*a*) Now what is this but force? I appeal to every honest mind, whether the plain, unvarnished, unambiguous language of this act is not simply this,—'If you will go to Liberia, or any other place out of the State, very well; but if you will not, you shall be made to go. No matter if an eternal separation, (see sec. 4.) from your wife and children be the consequence, still, you shall go, or else renounce your freedom in open court, and *continue a slave*. The sheriff, with the strong arm of law, shall forthwith arrest you, and transport you, willing or not willing, beyond the limits of the State, and there leave you, unprovided and uncared for, to your fate'? And what is this but coercion? And yet, Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, at the meeting in the Masonic Temple, July 30, said, 'we have never passed a law by which to force them away, as we be slanderously reported.' Let the act speak for itself. The truth is, gloss it over as you will, every slave that is manumitted and sent to Liberia or elsewhere, under the operation of this law, to use the language of Mr. B. in reference to the emigrants from Virginia, is 'COERCED away as truly as if it had been done with a CARTWHIP.' 'They were not driven by force. But after the Southampton affair, the legislature enacted *severe laws*, which required the free negroes to go through certain operations and forms of law in order to remain'—the very coercion of Maryland.

count to be removed, shall desire to renounce the freedom so intended by the said deed or will to be given, then it shall and may be competent to such slave or slaves so *to renounce in open court the benefit of said deed or will, and* TO CONTINUE A SLAVE. (*b*)

Sec. 5. And be it enacted, That it shall and may be competent for the Orphan's Court of this State, and for the Baltimore City Court, to grant *annually*, a permit to any slave or slaves so manumitted as aforesaid, to remain as free in the said county, in cases where the said courts may be *satisfied* by *respectable* testimony that such slave or slaves so manumitted *deserve such permission on account of their extraordinary good conduct and character;* Provided, such permit shall not exempt any manumittor or his representatives, or his estate, from any liability to maintain any hereafter emancipated slave, who, at the time his or her right to freedom accrues, may be unable to gain a livelihood, or be over forty-five years of age at said time, and afterwards become unable to maintain himself or herself. (*c*)

Sec. 6. And be it enacted, That the said Board of Managers shall in ALL cases where the removal of a slave or slaves manumitted as aforesaid, shall devolve upon them, have *full power and authority*, whenever the same shall be necessary and can be done with advantage, to *hire out such slave or slaves* so manumitted and so to be removed, *until their wages shall produce a sufficient sum to defray all expenses attending their removal, and necessary support at the place or places of such removal.* (*d*)

Sec. 7, Authorizes the Treasurer to borrow the requisite funds, never exceeding $200,000 in all. Section 8th, authorizes the levying of a tax to raise the said specified funds. The 9th directs the sheriffs of the several counties to cause the number of the free people of color, their names, sex and age, to be carefully taken, noted, and sent to the said board of managers. The 10th fixes the compensation of the sheriffs; the 11th defines the duties of the managers, when informed by the sheriffs of persons wishing to remove; and the 12th provides that the act have no ex post facto operation.

'*By the House of Delegates, March* 14, 1832.—This engrossed bill, the original of which passed this House, the 9th day of March, 1832, was this day read and assented to.

By order.

GEO. B. BREWER, *Clerk.*

By the Senate, March 14, 1832.—This engrossed bill, the original of which passed the Senate the 12th day of March, 1832, was this day read and assented to.

By order.

JOS. H. NICHOLSON, *Clerk.*
GEO. HOWARD.'

Such are the Acts, as finally passed by the Legislature of 1832. The bills as originally reported contained some things that were still more exceptionable. At the same session also, the following bill, to limit the power of manumission in the state, and thus prevent those evils of a worse ultimate tendency than '*slavery alone*,' was reported by a committee. Whether it passed into a specific law, I am unable to say. Be that as it may, the substance of it is virtually embodied in the foregoing acts, and it may therefore be quoted in form, as an illustration of the spirit and manner in which Maryland Colonization goes for the total abolition of slavery in that state.

(*b*) What a privilege! How kind!

(*c*) A most singular provision this. The slave may remain *if* his character and conduct are 'extraordinary good,' and *if* he can get 'respectable testimony' to the fact, and *if* the Orphan's or Baltimore City Court 'shall be satisfied,' &c., and *if*, being satisfied, they shall be willing to give the required permit, and *if* they shall renew it 'annually'—such permit not releasing the master or his representatives from liability to support said slave in case of inability to support himself. Now with all these *ifs* in the way, to what does this provision amount? Really it would seem as if it were made in mockery of the slave's woe. For who must the 'respectable testimony' in question be, save the very master or his representatives, who, in case of the slave's manumission and residence in the State, are liable, as above, for his support? And what master, &c. in such a case, would be likely to testify to 'extraordinary good character and conduct'? And besides, if, as Mr. Breckinridge asserted at the meeting in the Temple, the two questions are settled, *first*, that the colored race shall never be admitted to equal civil and religious privileges, and thus suffered to remain among them as equals, and *second*, that they shall not remain as slaves—in other words, if a war of extirmination is thus declared against the blacks, where is the proof that the courts in question will ever be so well 'satisfied' with the 'respectable testimony' as to give the aforesaid annual permit? Or if they do, and the manumitted slaves of 'extraordinary good character and conduct' should remain, where will Mr. B. and his coadjutors obtain their emigrants of such good character and so strictly temperate? Not from 'these free vagabonds.' For [Mr. B's speech at Washington] 'they have grown wise by experience, and do not intend to send out your shiploads of *free* vagabonds to christianize Africa. If they cannot have men of good character, they want none.' Where then will they find the emigrants?

(*d*) The slave then may not only be coerced out of the State, but where it can be done to advantage, he may be hired out and compelled to work out the expense of his own removal, &c.

A bill, entitled, An act relating to the Manumission of Slaves in Maryland.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, that from and after the passage of this act, it shall not be lawful for any person owning or holding any slave or slaves in this State to liberate, manumit, or set free such slave or slaves by deed of manumission, will, or otherwise, unless such slave or slaves be sent by the owner or holder of his or their representative, beyond the limits of this state.

Sec. 2. And be it enacted, That if any negro or mulatto slave or slaves shall become entitled to his, her or their freedom at any future day after the passage of this act, according to the present existing laws of this State, such negro or mulatto slave or slaves shall forfeit all right, title and claim to her, his, and their freedom, unless within ——— days after becoming so entitled, he, she, or they quit and finaliy leave this state.

Sec. 3. And be it enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any person or persons to give, sell or transfer, or convey, any slave or slaves to any free negro or mulatto of this State.

It will be seen at once that section first limits emancipation in all cases, to the condition of removal, thus leaving the poor slave no alternative but bondage or exile; and that section second, is expost facto in its operation, so that if the slave, under laws previously in force, had been made free at the age of twenty-one, but should not become twenty-one until the day after this act came in force, then, instead of being free with liberty to remain in the state, according to the laws under which he was manumitted, he now forfeits his freedom and continues a slave, unless he quits the state within the specified time, be the separation from his family or other inconveniences what they may.

These are the more important documents, in illustration of the real spirit and character of the Maryland scheme. To my mind they indicate little else than a spirit of settled hate to the blacks, rather than to slavery, and a determination to get rid of them at all events. The whole matter seems to be one of a cold, calculating, selfish, bloody state policy, rather than one of sincere repentance for the sin of slavery. Indeed slavery as a sin, and therefore a thing to be repented of, does not once come to view. The idea of righting the wrongs of 100,000 human beings held in bondage, does not seem to have been a matter of thought or consideration. The grand question was, How shall we get rid of the blacks—especially the free? And the cold-hearted answer was, by making the condition of the free so uncomfortable, that they will be glad to escape, and by rivetting the chain on the slave forever, except he consent, when emancipated, to be exiled.

True, the scheme professes to go for the abolition of slavery, but it is only on condition of the extermination of the obnoxious blacks. It is, therefore, rather a scheme for the abolition of the whole colored population, and that, per fas et nefas. The whole movement is characterized by the cold-hearted and bloody design of extermination.

But perhaps, I misjudge; suppose then we listen to the testimony of more unprejudiced witnesses, and see what construction they put upon these measures. The Journal of Commerce for 1832, a colonization print, has the following:—

'What will be the effect of the proceedings of Virginia and Maryland, concerning free negroes, upon the city of New-York? It is true, those states donot propose to resort, in the *first instance*, to compulsory measures; but *does any one doubt that they will resort to such measures*, if the number of volunteer emigrants should not be sufficient to exhaust the appropriations made for their removal?'

But hear a witness on the ground. The Baltimore Chronicle, at the time these acts were passed, remarked as follows:—

'The *intention* of those laws was, and *their effect must be*, to EXPEL the free people of color from this state. They will find themselves so hemmed in by restrictions, that their situation cannot be otherwise than uncomfortable should they elect to remain in Maryland. These laws will no doubt be met by prohibitory laws in other states, which will greatly increase the embarrassments of the people of color, and leave them *no other alternative than to emigrate or remain in a very unenviable condition.*'

Another evidence still more decisive is this: A correspondent of the Baltimore Patriot, in giving an account of the proceedings of the House of Delegates of that state, this present year, says:—

'An order was submitted by Mr. Mann, of Washington county, instructing the Committee on the colored population, to inquire into the expediency of abolishing Slavery, after a certain period.—*It excited a warm debate and some unpleasant feeling.*—He withdrew his order. *It has been expunged from the Journal*, and consequently no trace of it will be found there.—*It was no doubt offered without reflection.*'

A motion to instruct a committee simply to *inquire* into the *expediency* of abolishing slavery,—not immediately, but *after some fixed time*—'excited a warm debate, and so much unpleasant feeling,' that a vote was passed to *expunge it from the Journal of the House!* This is decisive of the spirit and intention of the colonization legislation of

that colonization state. It demonstrates, either that the powers that be have no intention of ever abolishing slavery, but rather of perpetuating it forever by removing the disturbing force of the free, or that they go for abolition only on condition of the extirpation of the whole colored population.

Indeed, this last is virtually avowed in a communication, of the Board of Managers of the Maryland Colonization Society, to the public, in Nov. 1833, and signed by 'George Hoffman, Pres't.' 'The avowed object,' of establishing a colony under the exclusive control of the Society was, 'not merely to remove thither, with their own consent, the free people of color, but also effectually, though gradually, and consistently with the rights of all, extirpating slavery in the state, and restoring to the land of their fathers, *the whole of its colored population*.' Slavery is to be abolished, but only by an extirpation of the blacks!

The same thing was also expressly asserted, by R. J. Breckinridge, at the meeting before referred to, and abundantly confirmed by the whole tenor of his and his brother's remarks.

And besides, if the object be, not the extirpation of the colored people, but really and in good faith, of slavery; and if, as the Messrs. Breckinridge and others are constantly assuring us, a feeling hostile to slavery is pervading society throughout that State, so that there are hundreds of slaves, whose masters are ready and waiting to emancipate them, so soon as a door is opened, by which they can do it, with safety to themselves and advantage to the slaves,—if all this be true, why all this ado about the free? Why this anxiety to induce *them* to emigrate, especially when they, in the main, are nothing but 'free vagabonds,' and the great desire and solemn pledge is to send out none but temperate emigrants and those of good moral character in other respects? Why too those 'severe laws' whose 'intention' was, and whose 'effect must be to *expel* the *free* people of color from the state,' by leaving them 'no other alternative than to emigrate, or remain in a very unenviable condition'? And above all, in the selection of emigrants, if the object be to put an end to slavery, or there be one spark of pity for the poor slaves, why are not those hundreds of slaves selected *first*, and thus saved from the liability, to which they are constantly exposed, of being sold into hopeless bondage, at the caprice of the master, or in payment of his debts? And why too, no provision, by which a moiety at least, of the $200,000, may be appropriated to purchase the slaves of those persons, who are very anxious to emancipate them, but from one cause or another, are unable to bear the loss? And worse than all, why no provision to meet the case of the poor man, who, in accepting his freedom on condition of removal, must be separated from his family, except the cold-hearted one of permitting him to remain in bondage? One would have thought that the high-souled benevolence that appropriated $200,000 to the removal of the free, might have appropriated a few dollars at least to the purchase and liberation of that poor man's wife and children, instead of compelling him to abandon them, or commit suicide on his own liberty, and by his own act rivet the chain upon himself forever!

The truth is, there is something wrong in this whole matter. Its pervading spirit is the spirit of negro hatred, and not that of repentance for wrongs inflicted on the innocent. Its object plainly is the extirpation of the negro race from the state. It thus adds insult to injury, and outrage to oppression. The legislation and the measures for effecting the object (unwittingly and unintentionally, if you please, on the part of some who are engaged in the enterprise) are, in spirit and in principle, the legislation and measures of a Nicholas, intent on the extirpation of the Poles, as the only means of the safety, security, and prosperity of his empire.

But this scheme professes to have some other peculiar claims on the confidence and patronage of the community, beside the one now examined, that it goes avowedly for the total abolition of slavery. Suppose we briefly examine them.*

1. It claims to occupy middle ground, and thus affords a resting place for the mind between Colonization, as it has been urged, and the mad scheme of Immediate Abolition. This point was pressed with special earnestness. Multitudes, it was supposed, had become abolitionists, and many others were in the way of becoming so, not because they were prepared or disposed to venture on the mad scheme of instant abolition, but mainly because they had supposed there was no middle ground on the subject. This scheme, however, presented middle ground, and could it be fairly spread before the public, and its principles be understood, it would furnish a resting place for the public mind, and thus check the progress of those fanatical doctrines and wild schemes which were abroad, and were fraught with such mischief to the nation.

Such was in substance the argument. But so far from being an argument in favor, it is an unanswerable objection to the scheme. It is the very reason of all others, why it should meet with the rejection of the whole community. It is middle ground—a resting place! What is this but saying it is effect-

* These points were brought out by the Messrs. Breckenridge at the meeting, at the Temple, on the evening of July 30.

ual to check the progress of public sentiment, and thus stand between it and the abolition of slavery? What is it but saying, here is a shield to protect slavery from the blows of an abolition public sentiment? What is it, but admitting that if this scheme and every other scheme of Colonization were out of the way, the public mind would at once be made up to abolition, and the sentiment of the nation be thus concentrated against the system of slavery for its overthrow?

Such at least were the admission and assertion of the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, at the last annual meeting of the Colonization Society in Washington. Said he—

'Let the slaveholder beware how he drives us away. We stand in *the breach for him* TO KEEP OFF THE ABOLITIONISTS. We are his friends, but only *to give him time*. If we are driven away, where can he find an ally? Where in the literature of the whole world, in the public opinion of the whole world, in the religion of the whole world, will he find an advocate? The abolitionist is upon him. And if he attempts to maintain slavery as perpetual, every one of us will be upon him too. You, Mr. President, and I, and all of us will join the abolitionists in such a cause, against perpetuating slavery. Rather than slavery, with its horrors, shall exist forever in this country, let us meet the evils incidental to its *instant* abolition. If abolition must be immediate or not at all, let it be immediate, come what will. We are the ONLY FRIENDS of the slaveholder, for we give him time, and that is all that he can ask—TIME to act and abolish slavery.'

This is all true: the Colonizationist, and especially the Maryland Colonizationist, does 'stand in the breach, to keep off the abolitionists,' and if he would only give up his colonizing schemes and get out of the way, the question of abolition or non-abolition would be brought to issue at once, and *then* the slaveholder would not find an advocate in the literature, or the public opinion, or religion of the whole world; and if he did not go for abolition, the abolitionist would be upon him.—Mr. B. would be upon him.—The mass of Colonizationists—the wealth, the influence, the moral power of New-England, and all the free states would be upon him. The public sentiment of the land and of the world would be upon him, and slavery, with its horrors, come to a perpetual end. The scheme in question, therefore, by occupying middle ground, and furnishing a resting place for the mind, goes to keep off the abolitionists, and prop up the system of slavery, and should therefore meet only with reprobation and rejection.

But 2. This scheme is an efficient one. That of the American Society, though excellent in many respects, was of necessity inefficient. The states, however, having the right to legislate on the subject, can act efficiently. They can call the law to their aid.

True. They can avail themselves of the strong arm of the law, and by the passage of severe laws, 'coerce' the colored people away, as truly as if it were 'done with a cart whip.' And Maryland has made a good beginning in this work of compulsion, as the preceding acts abundantly show. And when Maryland has effected her object, and thus set the example of 'successful colonization by state action,' Virginia may follow it—and if her legislators will all of them be as frank and honest as Mr. Broadnax, carry her points, by resorting to actual physical force.(a) And

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(a) IT IS IDLE TO TALK ABOUT NOT RESORTING TO FORCE. *Every body must look to the introduction of force of some kind or other. . .* If the free negroes are willing to go, they will go—if not willing, THEY MUST BE COMPELLED TO GO. Some gentlemen think it politic not now to insert this feature in the bill, though they proclaim their readiness to resort to it when it becomes necessary; they think that for a year or two a sufficient number will consent to go, and THEN THE REST CAN BE COMPELLED. For my part, I deem it better to approach the question and settle it at once, *and avow it openly.* The intelligent portion of the free negroes know very well what is going on.—Will they not see your debates? *Will they not see that coercion is ultimately to be resorted to?* They will perceive that the edict has gone forth, and that it MUST FALL, if not now, in a short time upon them.

'I have already expressed it as my opinion, that few, very few will *voluntarily* consent to emigrate, if no COMPULSORY MEASURE be adopted.—With it—many, in anticipation of its sure and certain arrival, will, in the mean time, go away—they will be sensible that the time would come when they would be forced to leave the State. Without it—you will still, no doubt, have applicants for removal equal to your means. Yes, Sir, people who will not only consent, but beg you to deport them. But what sort of *consent*—a consent extorted by a species of oppression calculated to render their situation among us insupportable! Many of those who have already been sent off, went with *their avowed consent*, but under the influence of a more decided compulsion than any which this bill holds out. I will not express, in its fullest extent, the idea I entertain of *what has been done, or what enormities will be perpetrated to induce this class of persons to leave the State.* * * * No matter how you change this bill—sooner or later the free negroes will be *forced* to leave the State. Indeed, Sir, ALL OF US LOOK TO FORCE of some kind or other, direct or indirect, moral or physical, legal or illegal. Many who are opposed, they say, to any compulsory feature in the bill, desire to introduce such severe regulations into our police laws—such restrictions of their existing privileges—such inability to hold property—obtain employment—rent residences, &c., as to make it impossible for them to remain amongst us. *Is not this force?*'

Mr. Fisher said:

'If we wait until the free negroes consent to leave the State, we shall wait until 'time is no more.' THEY NEVER WILL GIVE THEIR CONSENT. He believed if the compulsory principle were stricken out, this class WOULD BE FORCED TO LEAVE BY THE HARSH TREATMENT

so the work may go on from state to state, the kind and degree of compulsion varying according to the circumstances of the case, until the work of extirpation is complete, and the whole colored race have been thus kindly and benevolently restored to the land of their fathers, 'every emigrant' being '*a missionary*, carrying with him credentials [which he cannot read] in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions.' (*b*) The scheme efficient!—the very reason for its unqualified rejection. It has the elements of unlimited oppression in it.

But the colony at Cape Palmas—there are a great many very excellent things about that. In the first place, *the climate at the Cape is very healthy.*

But who does not know that the same thing has been asserted and re-asserted respecting Liberia; and that, in face of the most conclusive evidence to the contrary—evidence now admitted on all hands to be valid? So late even as Jan. 6, 1831, the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge himself, in an address at Frankfort, Ky. said,

'The colony established at Liberia, occupies a fertile, and to the black constitution, a *salubrious region*.' * * 'It was farther objected, that the unhealthiness of the climate was an insurmountable obstacle in the way of colonizing any part of Africa. The facts stated in a former part of this address, the accounts of all travellers who have visited that continent, and the UNIFORM *experience of the American Colony*, leave no room to doubt that the region of country owned by it, is pleasant, and to the black constitution, EXTREMELY SALUBRIOUS.'

Where now is our security that the healthiness of Cape Palmas will not turn out to be like that of Liberia—a non-entity?—especially when that of Liberia was demonstrated by the 'uniform experience' of the colony from the time of its foundation up to 1831?

But Cape Palmas is healthy, and the proof is as follows. For the sake of convenience, I place it by the side of similar proof respecting Cape Montserado.

CAPE PALMAS.	CAPE MONTSERADO.
'The *appearance* of the country, the bay and river, is exceedingly fine, and no place could be more desirable for a settlement.'	The territory purchased in Africa *appears* to have been judiciously selected, and it is believed, combines a greater number of advantages for a colonial establishment than any other situation on the coast. Elevated, and open to the sea, * * fertile and well watered, &c.'
Dr. Hall, Agent of the Maryland Col. Society.	
'The situation of the Cape makes it one of the most desirable spots on the Western Coast of Africa. It is *high, and receives the sea breeze.* * * * The place *appears* to be healthy, and the natives report it so. They tell me that several Englishmen have remained there from three to twelve months, and never complained of sickness. One of our passengers from Baltimore took the fever at Monrovia, and was laid up with it three days, before we arrived at Cape Palmas; and four days after our arrival he appeared to be quite well and over his sickness. [This looks well] The country around is not infested with swamps and mangroves as it is elsewhere'—[as if these were the cause of the unhealthiness elsewhere.]	Address of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, in 1823.
Rev. G. R. McGill, a respectable colored man.	'Every day I bless anew that favoring Providence which eventually led your agents to establish the settlement on Cape Montserado. *Not an hour have I spent here without feeling the refreshing and salutary influence of a fresh breeze from the ocean. The settlement can never be without it.* * * I will only say of the healthiness of Montserado that no situation in Western Africa can be more salubrious. The *sea air does all that can be done for it* in this climate. One *peculiarity* is, that the *night air is nearly as pure as any other.* * * * * On Montserado the cause of sickness is not marsh miasma, nor exhalations from the earth, * * * but an atmosphere loaded with oceans of vapor, from the rains.' J. Ashmun's Letter, Sept. 1822.

Thus far the testimony of mere opinion and conjecture in the two cases. What now is that of actual experience? To say nothing of Montserado, the testimony concerning Cape Palmas, in the very next communication from the same G. R. McGill is as follows:

'There had been no deaths (at the Cape) though some of the emigrants had a slight touch of the fever, though none serious. * * * * Dr. Hall *suffers much* from his state of debility; *he can scarcely get about;* he frets himself much on account of *not being able to attend to business*,' &c.

This was dated April 9, 1834.

Fourteen days only, after this, the Rev. John Hersey, assistant agent for the Society, having returned to Monrovia, writes a letter for publication in the Liberia Herald, in which he says,

'Nearly all the emigrants who came with us from the United States had been attacked with the fever, but they were all [at the time he left] recovering, and some of them were entirely restored to health.' 'I regret to say, that we lost a valuable individual (Dinah Newby) formerly a resident of this place. Her sufferings, * * * * were excruciating.'

Thus much for the healthiness of Cape Palmas. Scarce two months are passed after the commencement of the settlement, before all the emigrants are 'attacked with the fever,' one individual who had outlived the unhealthiness of Monrovia is dead, and the co-

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OF THE WHITES. The people in those parts of the State where they most abound were DETERMINED,—as far as they could learn through the newspapers and other sources,—TO GET RID OF THE BLACKS.'

(*b*) Henry Clay. 10th An. Rep. of the A. C. So.

lonial agent is 'not able to attend to business,' and can 'scarcely get about' for very weakness!

But *this is to be a strictly temperate colony.* The site for it was bought without rum, and every emigrant who goes to the colony is to be a temperance emigrant.

This looks well on paper, but to the law and the testimony—let us have the documents and the facts.

Dr. Hall, in giving an account of the purchase of the land, says, 'So much had been said to the head men * * * on the subject of ardent spirit, that they barely made the demand; and upon a full and fair declaration, that my master sent me to buy land without rum, they gave it up in a manner that would have honored a more christian assembly. I must say, however, that this was *principally effected by the lobby members, before the house was opened*'!

Mr. Hersey, in his letter of April 23d, tells us *how* the lobby members effected this. 'After a few moments' deliberation, they willingly consented to receive fifty dollars in specie as *an equivalent* for the article.' And Mr. Brown, in his examination at New-York, said he was informed by a gentleman, who *was present at the sale*, that the land was bought without rum, but 'that the fifty dollars given to them instead of it, *was used by the natives in the purchase of rum.*'

To be sure, Mr. Hersey adds that a few days afterwards, a British ship came in the harbor, and they were informed that the kings had sent their specie on board and exchanged it for rum; and that, on inquiry if it were true, one of the kings promptly replied, 'No: We no buy rum—Rum make bad palaver.' Just as if he would confess it, if it were true! Such testimony, in such a case, from natives characterized by duplicity in other cases, amounts to nothing. Mr. Hersey is very careful not to endorse the king's disclaimer. The truth is, it is perfectly idle to pretend that the money was used for any other purpose; and the other articles, given in exchange for the land, prove it. These were, some of them, 4 cases of muskets, 20 kegs of powder, 2 kegs of flints, 100 cutlasses, 3 pair of brass barrelled pistols, 100 trade knives, 3 hhds. of tobacco, 50 tumblers, 50 mugs, 50 bowls, 50 pitchers, 24 stone jugs, 10 demijohns, 24 decanters, 50 wine glasses. What is all this but the apparatus complete, for drinking and fighting? And now, with the money in their hands, given them expressly as an equivalent for the rum, is it to be supposed, that they did not use it to provide themselves with something to put into this horrid array of mugs, and pitchers, and jugs, and demijohns, and decanters, and wine glasses? Plainly not.

But the emigrants—they are all to be temperance men. 'The constitution, which every *Maryland emigrant* has now signed, unites them all in a Temperance association; and the ordinance for their government contains all the enactments that could be devised, to prevent the introduction or use of ardent spirit hereafter.'*

But there were some, beside the 'Maryland emigrants,' who went to Cape Palmas. A number of 'volunteers' went from Monrovia: did they sign the temperance pledge, and will the ordinance for government prevent the introduction or use of spirit by them? And besides, it being the express and avowed object of the Maryland Society to remove from the state, not only the free, but 'the whole of its colored population,' how is the society going to make them all sign the temperance pledge? Suppose some of them should refuse, what is to be done? Would 'coercion' be used?

But the natives in the vicinity of the colony are very friendly, and are anxious to receive instruction—so much so, that the kings have sent two of their sons 'to the U. States, to be educated by the State Colonization Society,' and have stipulated for 'the establishment of a free school, by the society, in each of their chief towns, within a year from the date of the treaty.'† Such a colony, it is supposed therefore, will do much for Africa, in the way of introducing the light of civilization and religion into that benighted land. It will be a great help to the missionary cause.

This certainly deserves consideration. What then are the facts? Are the natives thus friendly? Sending their sons to be educated, &c. certainly looks like it, but is it so? They may desire education for themselves and children, not because they are, at heart, friendly to, or have confidence in the colonists, but merely that they may be able to cope with them in trade. Be this as it may, their friendship is such that 'a fort will be built'‡ by the colonists to protect themselves. Mr. McGill also informs us, in his letter of April 9th, that 'there is a number of them [colonists at Monrovia] intend going to Cape Palmas, *as soon as they hear all is settled*'! And Mr. Hersey, fourteen days after, says, 'It has been reported here, [Monrovia] that the natives are hostile, and the colony is in danger of being cut off. I think there is no ground for *such* a report. *There have been* [in the short space of two months] *several collisions and difficulties between individuals*, but in every instance, the natives discovered a friendly, peaceable disposition * * * Should the parties, however, become involved in war, *I believe it will be owing to the imprudence of the colonists.*'

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*Address of Board of Managers, April 26, 1834.
†Address of Board of Managers.
‡Wilson and Winkoop's Report.

It would seem, therefore, though the colonists are in fault, as is generally the fact in such cases, that there is not, after all, a very warm friendship existing between them and the natives.

But admitting that the fact were otherwise, it is still a question, whether the existence of the colony will aid or hinder in the great work of introducing civilization and religion into that benighted land? And all experience, I think, is decisive on the point, that it will but hinder. Dr. Philip found it so in South Africa. Our missionaries find it so in India. British christians found it so, when they undertook to operate on the Society Islands by planting a colony. The same was the result in the case of the Plymouth Colony, and that too, although in the charter, originally given by Charles I. it is expressly said, that the powers of government, therein enumerated, are granted, that the colonists may, by them, 'be so religiously, peaceably and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may win and incite the *natives* of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind and the christian faith; which, *in our royal* INTENTION, *and the adventurers'* FREE PROFESSION, IS THE PRINCIPAL END OF THIS PLANTATION;'* and although this 'free profession' of the adventurers was in some good measure acted on. Similar also has been the result at Monrovia. Notwithstanding the flattering accounts of the friendly feelings of the natives, their desire for instruction, the happy influence of the colony, &c. yet Gov. Pinney assures us, that 'NOTHING *has been done for the natives,* by the colonists, except to educate a few, who were in their families, in the *capacity of servants,*' and that the '*same distinction*' exists there between colonists and natives, '*as exists in America between colors.*' Why then should Cape Palmas be an exception? Indeed, facts show that it is not.

It appears that Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop, missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. have selected Cape Palmas as the place for the establishment of their mission. In doing so, however, they say,

'We had very serious doubts as to the expediency of taking any measures for the immediate erection of the (mission) house in the *neighborhood of the colony;* first, from apprehension that the colony might embarrass our future efforts for the improvement of the natives; and in the second place, we had fears, lest, in case of any *contest* between the colonists and natives, the latter might be tempted to destroy it, * * * * * * we took all the pains we could to impress the mind of the king and his people with the fact, that the mission is to be *entirely distinct from the colony, and will be identified with the interest of the natives.*'

These facts establish the point that nothing is to be expected from colonies in aid of the missionary work. It is all a dream to expect it.

But what shall be done? We must get rid of the colored people in some way. The two races never have lived together, enjoying equal civil and religious privileges. The question is settled in Maryland, according to Mr. B. that they cannot do so there. There are important physical difficulties in the way of it; and they do not believe that God, in making great physical differences among men, ever intended that they should all mix up together.

In respect to this I will only say, that 'God hath made of one blood all the families of man for to dwell on all the face of the earth'—that 'he that hateth his brother abideth in death'—and then turn the matter over into the hands of an English reviewer, for the double purpose of an answer, and of showing how our silly, wicked prejudice against people of color is regarded abroad, and into what contempt it is bringing our religion and our free institutions, in the eye of the world.

'The Creator of all has "made of *one blood* all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth"; and he who practically denies this, "maketh God a liar." How admirably does the proud spirit which leads the white American to revolt at worshipping his Maker in the same church with his sable fellow Christian, harmonize with the apostolic exhortation, "Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus," who "is not ashamed to call us"—men of every hue, partakers of the same flesh and blood—"his brethren"! Had our Lord himself appeared to the American nation "in the form of a servant," with a skin of darker hue than their own, they would have exclaimed with one voice, "Crucify him."

'No one who is aware of the intense, the almost savage antipathy which inspires an American towards the colored races, will accuse us of exaggeration.

'The very sight of a gentleman of color, whatever his wealth and intelligence, at the same dinner-table, in the same box of a theatre, still more at the same altar, would, even in this country, throw an American into the agitation of suppressed rage. The well authenticated anecdotes we have heard, illustrative of this fact, would be simply amusing, were it not for the serious consequences of this absurd prejudice. When we find such a spirit as this in Christians, we may well cease to wonder at the haughty prejudice of the ancient Jews towards the Gentiles, which led them to resent our Saviour's eating with "publicans and sinners," and to

* Ancient Charters, p. 14.

exclaim respecting the apostle of the Gentiles, "Away with this fellow: he is not fit to live." The conduct of the Brahmins towards the inferior castes, finds its counterpart, in the nineteenth century, among the philosophic republicans of America.'

'Talk of freedom, of toleration, of justice, in a country where a free citizen may be expelled from his native soil, because of his complexion! Why, Russia and its autocrat appear to advantage in comparison with this ruthless, irresponsible despotism. And then, think of the blasphemy of making the Deity an accomplice in this cruelty and injustice, by resolving it into "an ordination of Providence," a "law of the God of nature," which defies the utmost power of Christianity—which religion cannot, that is, shall not subdue!'

'We cannot forbear to address a few words to those Christian ministers in this country, who cherish, as becomes them, a brotherly regard for the transatlantic churches, and are apt to look with a degree of fondness and partiality to the land of religious freedom, where Christianity has seemed to put forth of late so holy an energy. Far be it from us to wish to check those feelings, and to sow discord between the two countries. But this we must say; that it becomes the Christians of England to make their voice heard across the Atlantic on behalf of their colored brethren; and that our ministers are more especially bound to enter a solemn protest against the anti-Christian prejudice which the American pastors seem either timidly to yield to, or criminally to participate. Nor, speaking for ourselves, and willing to bear all the blame attaching to the avowal, shall we be disposed to place much faith in American revivals, or to augur well for the interests of religion in the United States, so long as American Christianity shall be found so partial or so feeble in its operation, as to exert no modifying influence upon this unjust, cruel, and insolent prejudice.'*

But the two races never have lived together on terms of equality. There is not an instance of it in all the history of the world. Indeed! The thing never has been, and therefore it never can be. Jews and Samaritans never have done so; therefore, they never can. The Brahmin and the Soodra never have, as a body, broken caste, and therefore they never can. The gospel has not power to break down these middle walls of partition, and made Jew and Gentile, Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free, all one in Christ! I am surprised and pained at the unbelief that thus virtually denies the power of the gospel.

Such, reader, is the Maryland Scheme. I have endeavored to examine its character and claims faithfully and impartially. I have only to ask, in conclusion,—Is it worthy of your approbation or countenance?

* Eclectic Review, Feb. 1833.

NOTE.

In further elucidation of this important subject, the writer begs leave to make the following statement, of what was done by the Maryland Legislature, touching the negroes, during the session in which the laws I have quoted were passed.

January 28, 1832, the following *resolution* was passed, and afterwards presented by Mr. Jenifer to the House of Representatives of the United States. [See No. 124 of Resolutions.]

'Whereas recent occurrences in this state, as well as in the other states of our Union, have impressed more deeply upon our minds, the necessity of devising some means by which we may facilitate the removal of the *free people of color*, [not a word about slaves,] from our state, and *from the* UNITED STATES; and whereas an appropriation by Congress for the above object would greatly relieve the states from the otherwise heavy burdens of taxation for that purpose—Therefore,

Resolved, by the General Assembly of Maryland, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested to use their exertions to obtain such aid from our national treasury, towards the furtherance of the above object, as may be in accordance with the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved further, That should the aid of the National Government be withheld, under the belief that the power to legislate on the subject is not granted to Congress by the Constitution, that then our Senators and Representatives in Congress, be requested to propose such *amendment to the Constitution!* [alas, for the Union!] of the United States, as will enable Congress to make such appropriation.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to forward a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolution to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

By order.

JOS. H. NICHOLSON, *Clerk.*

By the House of Delegates.

January 28, 1832.

Read the second time and assented to.

By order.

G. G. BREWER, *Clerk.*'

So that the 'free people of color' must go at any rate, and if Congress will help, very well; if not, we will have the Constitution changed, &c. &c. What if abolitionists attempt, in such serious earnest, 'such

amendment to the Constitution,' that Congress could act for abolition?

The next thing done in relation to the 'free people of color,' was the passage of the law making the $200,000 appropriation, the provisions of which are, [see Laws, chap. 323] precisely as stated by me. This passed, March 12, 1832. The very day that this was passed, the same 'benevolent,' 'magnanimous,' &c. legislature passed the following:—

'An act to authorize the executors of the last will and testament of William N. Ritchee, deceased, to bring certain slaves,' four in number, from Talahassee, in Florida, into the state, to be held and disposed of, 'under said will, according to its provisions, in the same right and manner, as if said slaves had been born in this state, &c. * * * *Provided, if the said negroes shall refuse to go to Liberia, they shall be sold out of this state* AS SLAVES FOR LIFE'!

And to crown the whole, only two days after this, viz.: March 14, 1832, this same Legislature passed 'An act relating to free negroes and slaves,' the provisions of which, [see Laws, chap. 323] are precisely as stated by me. This legislation speaks for itself—it needs no comment.

TO THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON.

Your attention has been recently called to the subject of African colonization anew, by the agents of the Maryland State Colonization Society. It is believed that the real spirit and character of that enterprise are not understood. To put the public in possession of the more important documents on the subject, and also to examine some of the arguments by which it has recently been urged on your confidence and co-operation, has been the object of this pamphlet. The task is not a pleasant one, to call in question and oppose a measure recommended and urged by men and ministers of the first respectability and standing in the church. Still, if the measure in question be wrong in principle, and pernicious in its tendencies and results, then, the fact that it is sanctioned and urged by such men, is the very reason why it should be exposed.

The men sanctify the measure, and make it thus the more pernicious. The present is believed to be such a case. And therefore, though the writer can have 'patience with the men'—though he can and does respect and esteem them as men and as ministers of Christ, he yet can have no patience 'with the principles,' but feels bound to call them in question.

[From the Liberator.]

THE HUNTERS OF MEN.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Have ye heard of our hunting, o'er mountain and glen,
Through cane-brake and forest,—the hunting of men?
The lords of our land to this hunting have gone,
As the fox-hunter follows the sound of the horn:
Hark—the cheer and the hallo!—the crack of the whip,
And the yell of the hound as he fastens his grip!
All blithe are our hunters, and noble their match—
Though *hundreds* are caught, there are *millions* to catch:
So speed to their hunting, o'er mountain and glen,
Through cane-brake and forest—the hunting of men!

Gay luck to our hunters!—how nobly they ride
In the glow of their zeal, and the strength of their pride!—
The Priest with his cassock flung back on the wind,
Just screening the politic Statesman behind—
The saint and the sinner, with cursing and prayer—
The drunk and the sober, ride merrily there.
And woman—kind woman—wife, widow, and maid—
For *the good of the hunted*—is lending her aid:
Her foot 's in the stirrup—her hand on the rein—
How blithely she rides to the hunting of men!

Oh! goodly and grand is our hunting to see,
In this 'land of the brave and this home of the free.'
Priest, warrior, and statesman, from Georgia to Maine,
All mounting the saddle—all grasping the rein—
Right merrily hunting the black man, whose sin
Is the curl of his hair and the hue of his skin!—
Wo, now to the hunted who turns him at bay!—
Will our hunters be turned from their purpose and prey?—
Will their hearts fail within them?—their nerves tremble, when
All roughly they ride to the hunting of men?

Ho—ALMS for our hunters!—all weary and faint
Wax the curse of the sinner and prayer of the saint!
The horn is wound faintly—the echoes are still
Over cane-brake and river, and forest and hill.
Haste—alms for our hunters!—the hunted once more
Have turned from their flight with their backs to the shore:
What right have *they* here in the home of the white,
Shadowed o'er by *our* banner of Freedom and Right?
Ho—alms for our hunters!—or never again
Will they ride in their pomp to the hunting of men!

ALMS—ALMS for our hunters!—why *will* ye delay,
When their pride and their glory are melting away?
The parson has turned; for, on charge of his own,
Who goeth a warfare, or hunting, alone?
The politic statesman looks back with a sigh—
There is doubt in his heart—there is fear in his eye.
Oh! haste—lest that doubting and fear shall prevail,
And the head of his steed take the place of his tail.
Oh! haste, ere he leave us!—for who will ride then,
For pleasure or gain, to the hunting of men!